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VOL. IX.—NO. 9.

NEW YORK, MAY 28, 1899.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

FICTION AND FACT.

Official Count of S. L. P. Vote in Bridgeport Contrasted with Newspaper Figures.

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., May 20.—We are now at last able to give a somewhat correct account of our vote in the last election (April 3). Our men waited for the straight tickets to be counted and then reported the scratched vote to be reported in the papers. The papers gave us an average of 230, with 210 for Mayor. We had, on our own men's report 226. We began to feel that all was not well, especially as we knew for a fact that Comrade Haigh, for Alderman, had received a large vote. We inquired and got no satisfaction, so the Executive Committee was ordered to find out what was the official vote and see if the papers lied. Meanwhile a recount took place for the office of Tax Collector, and it was shown that NOT A SINGLE DISTRICT WAS CORRECTLY COUNTED.

It was then reported that the Town Clerk refused to let us have the official figures, saying that only a lawyer could get them. A comrade was ordered to proceed and get the vote, even if it became necessary to engage a lawyer. The comrade, however, obtained the vote through a man who saw the mean moves made to keep us without the information that we had a right to.

The below list presents a contrast between Fiction and Facts that should make us all pause:

VOTE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

As given by papers.	Official count now.
Mayor:	
210 JOHN H. BEAUDRY.	213
City Clerk:	
220 ALEXANDER McDONALD.	243
Treasurer:	
222 HENRY J. MATHERN.	246
Collector:	
217 OSCAR HUMMEL.	287
Sheriff:	
227 CONRAD W. NIELSEN.	401
JOHN TYER.	400
230 CHARLES E. WINOHOVEL.	388
232 HENRY B. HARRIS.	392
Aldermen:	
245 GEORGE HAIGH.	1,016
227 MAX SCHWAB.	411
228 DENNIS BAIWICK.	380
229 ALBERT SCHMIDT.	382
228 SAMUEL WALKER.	443
229 FREDERICK KLATT.	442
230 DANIEL CABBILL.	400
231 THOMAS N. HOLDSWORTH.	408
232 NOAH ROLLINSON.	472
232 ALFRED F. MOFFATT.	403
Town Clerk:	
24 JOHN WARMUTH.	348
Public Weigher:	
236 JOHN STAINES.	402
Selectmen:	
229 SAMUEL MUGATROYD.	402
229 A. HERMAN GENNETT.	402
229 AUGUST WINKLER.	402
Board of Education:	
234 WILLIAM MEDCALE.	407
234 EDWARD CROXAN.	488

We asked the papers to publish the vote as it is. One flatly refused; another wanted five dollars. We shall reserve the right to publish it ourselves—with a few remarks—later on.

C. J. MERCER.

THE "GLASGOW PLAN".

The statement has very often been made by "Municipal Reformers" and others that under municipalization in Glasgow the condition of the people would be bettered. As an evidence they claim that in Glasgow no taxes are paid, that the tramways make enough surplus to pay all the city's running expenses, etc., etc.

The falseness of these statements are easily proven by an examination of "The Glasgow Municipal Records," issued by the City of Glasgow for the years 1894, '95, '96 and '97.

From such examination it appears that taxes are not only paid in Glasgow but that taxes are actually higher in 1897 than they were in 1895. Not only is the condition of the people not bettered but, on the contrary, poverty and insanity are on the increase—despite the "plan." Thus even the false cry of taxation turns out to be doubly false in Glasgow.

The Tramways Committee of Glasgow presented the following report for the year ending June 18, 1897:

Amount of traffic receipts.....	£365,791 3 10
Other receipts.....	5,121 0 6
Total.....	£370,912 4 4
Amount of working expenses.....	£26,280 1 3
Leaving a balance of.....	£344,632 3 1
Disposed of as under:	
Rent of Govan and Ibrox tramways.....	£2,445 14 6
Interest on Capital.....	13,834 14 9
Working fund.....	10,805 10 2
Payment to common good in lieu of mileage, etc.....	9,000 0 0
Permanent way renewal fund.....	15,000 0 0
Depreciation written off capital.....	13,513 1 8
General reserve fund.....	20,000 0 0

Not one penny. It will thus be seen, went to lower taxes.

The further fact is brought out that taxes are being levied in Glasgow and that an increase of taxation instead of a decrease is a reality, by the following:

Assessments imposed by the Magistrates and Council for year ending May 31:

1896.....	£53,222 7 1
For year ending May 31, 1897.....	60,232 12 6

The Parish Councils of Glasgow,

Govan and Barony (City of Glasgow) expended for care of the poor during year ending:

May 15, 1896.....	£184,578 12 3
Year ending May 15, 1897.....	192,401 12 10

This amount of money was raised by a "rate," or tax, imposed by said Parish Councils not included in the assessments of the Magistrates and Council. The estimate for 1898 increased the amount necessary for poor maintenance about £10,000 over that of 1897.

The increase of insanity during the year 1896-97 compelled the General Board of Lunacy to give utterance to the following doleful statement:

"The sum which the General Board of Lunacy declares necessary to be raised for the City District Board in the current year, 1897-98, is £16,962, against £10,850 in last year—equal to 56 per cent. of an increase.

"The rate (of taxation) to be imposed within the City Parish must therefore be advanced to 3 1/2 pence, being an increase of a penny farthing per pound."

"Municipalization" in Glasgow is evidently a striking illustration of how easy it is for a capitalist municipal government NOT to better the condition of the people.

From these few facts the working class can understand that, if under "municipal ownership" poverty and insanity increase, year by year, such "municipal ownership" can be of absolutely no value to our class.

These facts prove conclusively that it is not a question of "municipal ownership" which concerns the working class, but rather, who shall own the municipality?

The municipality being owned by the working class they can use it to PREVENT an increase of poverty and misery, thereby preventing an increase of insanity; the municipality being owned by the capitalist class, as Glasgow is owned, that class being a labor-skinning class, they will use it to further skin the workers and thus increase poverty and insanity.

The working class must own the municipality then, and only then can it use it for itself. The only way the working class can get the ownership of any and every municipality is by voting as a class for its class. It can not get such ownership by listening to the lying statements of the fakir and the fool; it must vote in the platform and candidates of the Socialist Labor Party and vote out the platforms and candidates of the capitalists and their crooked bunco steersmen, the "municipal ownership" crew.

ARTHUR KEEP.

A correspondence, found elsewhere in this issue, reports the healthy shaking up that Section Hudson County, N. J., has just given the boodling waiters of a "Walters' Union" of that place. An incident, not mentioned in the correspondence, deserves to be referred to.

In the course of the discussion which took place in the Hudson County Central Labor Federation, upon the motion of the Section that the Walters' Union in question be suspended, the following passage at arms occurred:

Delegate of the Union—"Our Union is a good Socialist Union. We have done good work for the S. L. P. We have marched in its parade."

Committeeman of the S. L. P.—"You marched with us. What good was that? We had 600 men in line and polled only 200 votes. That comes of such people as you marching with us. People will say either those were all bona fide Socialists, but they are a lot of foreigners without a vote; or they will say that we sell out on election day."

The time has come to put an end to the lip-service style of Socialism—the men who imagine they can buy the Party's good will by a few acts of show and thereby secure immunity for their corruption.

The hard-worked drug clerks of New York are just now being worked by two elements, either of which is more despicable than the other.

One set of the drug clerks has been played upon by the labor fakir element, and made believe that by paying dues and allowing themselves to be otherwise bled, they could secure by legislation a shorter work day.

An other set of drug clerks is hastening to attach their signatures to a declaration that they resent any interference by the Legislature, seeing they can themselves attend to the question of hours of work. The way the thing is worked is this: the declaration is unrolled before the drug clerk, his employer standing near by; the drug clerk is told that he is under no obligation to sign, and is then invited to sign. The unhappy drug clerk, knowing that he will be fired if he does not sign, promptly signs. For every signature the collector of such "free" signatures gets a certain fee.

Query: Which of the two sets of clerks is more to be pitied, the set worked by the fakir, or the set worked by the Signature Collecting Agency?

Remit by money-order, registered letter, check or, when the amount is small, by two or one-cent stamps. Do not send cash in ordinary letters! Why run any risks?

RUSKIN COLONY'S COLLAPSE.

The Rise and Downfall of the Latest Utopian Scheme.

COLONISTS APPEALING FOR FIFTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS.

Recent Events at Ruskin—Receiver Applied for and Lands to be Sold—Development of the Colony Idea in General—Birth of Ruskin—Wayland Starts It, and then Makes His Pile Out of It—Disreputable Policy of the "Coming Nation"—Attempts of Stockholders to Veneer the Condition of the Colony—The Founders Now Admit that Ruskin Was Never Intended to be a "Socialistic" Community—Rascality of the Whole Scheme Proven—Colonization Versus Socialism.

The Ruskin Co-operative Association, at Ruskin, Tenn., commonly known as the "Ruskin Colony," is about to collapse.

Its lands and houses are to be sold, and the hundred or so colonists still on the site of the colony are appealing to the utopians of the country for FIFTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS to tide them over the "crisis."

During the last three years THE PEOPLE has suggested once or twice that the Ruskin Colony was rotten financially. The reply of the "Coming Nation," the organ of the colony, has uniformly been that THE PEOPLE had but little regard for the truth, and that the colony was on the highest wave of prosperity. Of late these boasts of solvency have been louder than ever and in larger type than ever, proceeding probably from an analogy with the decay of vitality in the human body. It often happens that just before dissolution a man will secure a sudden access of strength which by the unskilled is taken as a symptom of returning life, but which to the experienced eye of the physician is naught but the premonition of the death rattle.

Thus with the Ruskin Colony. Three weeks ago, boasting in strident tones of its absolute solvency and prosperity; and while the words were flowing from the pen of the editor, legal proceedings for the sale of the property and winding up the affairs of the colony were being executed.

COLONIES IN GENERAL.

Should the Socialist keep a record of all the failures of schemes developed ostensibly "to rescue society from the ravenous maw of the capitalist system of production," the clerical labor required would take most of his time; and usually it would be time thrown away. Occasionally, however, a scheme collapses which from the very importance that has been claimed for it by its adherents, as well as the importance it has assumed in many other minds, demands obsequies of a more formal character than such fiascos usually merit. And Ruskin Colony, claimed by its promoters to be "Socialism in practice," is one of these schemes.

Four hundred years ago there lived in England a man named Thomas More. At that time (the forepart of the sixteenth century) poverty and misery were prolific in England, as elsewhere in Europe. More's emotions were sensitive enough to be easily stirred, and his sympathies were quick enough to be easily roused. He saw the misery and the poverty and the degradation on every hand, and he may have seen the causes; but he realized his powerlessness to work any great revolution in society; and then, like all emotionalists, he took refuge in his imagination and proceeded to construct societies and governments in his mind. He was acquainted with the paradise of which St. John of Bible lore had dreamed, (which paradise is generally called "heaven") and proceeded to dream a dream himself—with modifications.

St. John located his paradise off among the stars somewhere. More located his on earth. Rather than let his imagination course through ether and at last light on a planet, as did the imagination of the Apostle, More took a voyage across boundless seas to South America, and there in the tropics, far inland, he discovered a peculiar people, who inhabit a peculiar land called Utopia.

The political and social evils of sixteenth century England—and those evils were many—were all absent from the Utopians. The social life of the Utopians was molded after a rude form of communism, under which food, clothing, and shelter were produced in abundance for all, and where there was such an absence of vice and such a presence of virtue, such an absence of political inequality and such a presence of political equality, that ever since then the adjective "utopian" has been used to designate the visionary and the impracticable.

Utopia was simply an idea of More's, an ideal of More's—a community that lived, moved, and had its being within the confines of More's cerebrum and cerebellum.

Since the sixteenth century other men with easily moved sympathies and vivid imaginations have seen political and social injustice, and, like More, have set their imaginations to work to IMAGINE a State in which political and social injustice would be absent; and with all of them, from More down to Bellamy, the policy advocated has been that of withdrawing from the society where this injustice reigns, going to an isolated portion of the earth, and there, with nature as raw material, build a new and model society.

The limits of this article will not permit the tracing of the development of

this idea, but it undoubtedly secured its inspiration from the monastic orders of the Middle Ages, whose members, discovering that they could not practice their peculiar morals in society as it then existed, withdrew from society, and in mountain fastness and desert waste established colonies of hermits, where, remote from even the possibility of worldly temptation, they could live their whimsical lives, practice their whimsical rites, and leave the world without to hammer its way along the rough and winding road of progress as best it might. The analogy between the monastery and the co-operative colony should not, however, be carried further. In most instances the hermits succeeded in leading the kind of a life they set out to lead; with the co-operative colony the reverse is true.

For more than a hundred years the colony scheme, in its various forms, has been the heaven of the utopian. In the first years of the century Rapp and his band of devotees established Harmony Colony in Pennsylvania. It was about to lapse when Owen appeared, cleared up the debris, and started it over again as New Harmony Colony, and that ultimately went to the wall. Then Fourier elaborated imaginary details, and inspired thousands to enter on abortive attempts to live one form of society inside another form of social organization, and his phalanx and phalanstery cropped out in hundreds of little communities, of which Brook Farm was a type. Cabot followed with another ready-made suit for society to put on, and Leasia was born to lead a perilous career. And in later years have come the Bellamyites to retire into the wilderness and there reform the industrial order.

THE RUSKIN COLONY—ITS GENESIS AND HISTORY.

And this brings us to Ruskin, which is the latest effort at colonization.

The idea of Ruskin was first revealed to A. J. Wayland, at the present time the owner and editor of "The Appeal to Reason," an alleged Socialist paper, which he publishes in a little country town in Kansas called Girard. In April, 1893, Wayland published the first number of the "Coming Nation" at Greensburg, Indiana. Populism was then at its height, and the paper became in time the mouthpiece for the misguided who thought they saw in Populism, with its absurd middle class demands, a short cut to the Co-operative Commonwealth. Wayland was familiar with the history of colonization in all its forms from Fourierism through Cabetism to Bellamyism. He was also acquainted with history of the failure of colonization in all its forms. A knowledge of these failures, however, did not deter him from attempting to plough the field all over again and harrow it with a Wayland harrow.

Wayland's scheme was a fertile one, and appeared like this. Wayland owns the "Coming Nation." You enthusiasts increase the circulation to 100,000 a year. That will leave a surplus of \$27,000 a year. This money will be Wayland's, but Wayland will be a philanthropist and use it to purchase 3,000 acres of land as a basis for the colony. Charter members were to be those who sent in two hundred subscribers or paid an equivalent in money. In return, Wayland was to throw in all he had—type, press, subscription list, even Wayland himself. The whole "Coming Nation," editor and all, was to go into the pool and serve as a nucleus around which to build the co-operative commonwealth in the midst of a capitalist nation.

In the spring of 1894 a good deal of money was on hand through the efforts of the enthusiasts, and Wayland was on the lookout for a site. In Chicago there was a land company, and that land company owned a tract of land in Tennessee. It was three miles from the railway station at Tennessee City. It consisted of barren rocky hills, absolutely unfit for cultivation or habitation, having neither fertile soil nor living water. Yet the land company sold one thousand acres of it to Wayland for one thousand dollars, and in the spring of 1894 the "Coming Nation" issued a call for the martyrs. The fugitives from capitalism began to appear at Tennessee City, and in August nineteen men applied for a charter and became charter members of the "Ruskin Co-operative Association." The charter was a rather voluminous document, the principal clause stipulating that membership in the colony could only be had by the payment of \$500. They worked on their barren land, cut railway ties from their timber, and starved on the income from the "Coming Nation" until July, 1895, when a crisis was reached, or, rather the culmination of a crisis, for the colony had been in a crisis ever since Wayland made the deal with the Chi-

cago land company. The crisis came about in the following manner. One of the agreements made by Wayland was that he would contribute the plant of the "Coming Nation," which he valued at \$12,000. He postponed, however, the legal surrender of the plant from time to time and seemed so loth to do things in a business manner that there grew up a suspicion that Wayland was looking out for Wayland and did not intend to surrender the plant. In July a demand was made on him for the printing outfit, and he flatly refused to keep his promise. He demanded cash for his plant, and he got it. The printed reports of the colony do not tell how much cash he got. The only suggestion relative thereto is to be found in the statement that in October, 1894, they were free from debt and had a balance on hand, while in July, 1895, after Wayland had been bought out and kicked out, the colony was without money and three thousand dollars in debt.

Wayland, gone, the barrenness of Wayland's site was more apparent than ever. The colonists had to get fertile land or starve, (as matters have turned out they have nearly starved anyway) and in June, 1897, they deserted the original site and ran in debt for six hundred acres of fertile land a few miles from Wayland's purchase. On this six hundred acres of unpaid-for land the colony is now located, and when in a few days the hammer of the auctioneer knocks down their property to the highest bidder they will have been taught the lesson, rude though the teaching may be, that the time for hermitizing is gone, and that the ballot box is the place and the ballot the machine for revolutionizing society and ushering in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

FROM STRESS TO CHICANERY.

Years ago Socialists demonstrated that material necessity is the motive power of human action. That is to say, that the stomach and other organs of the body are the main springs to action. The application of this reasoning to the history of Ruskin leads one to sentiments of pity mingled with those of anger for the misguided enthusiasts and promoters who have fought a losing battle in the woods of Tennessee—pity for the enthusiasts' anger for the promoters who have preyed on the credulity of the "reformers."

The necessity for getting a living was what led them to Ruskin, and the continued necessity of getting a living was what led them into a great deal of the evident chicanery practiced. Their paper, the "Coming Nation," heralded itself a Socialist paper, while its columns have ever been open to the most sickening anti-Socialist rot that has ever degraded any paper of its class. In many instances it has been worse than the "Appeal to Reason." Any one of its subscribers was permitted to express himself in its columns, and even to-day, with the fallacy of the free silver policy and the fallacy of the anti-bank power policy thoroughly exploded, it is not unusual to see the organ of Ruskin Colony devote columns of space to Populist drabble, descriptive of the oppression resulting from the "banks," the "money power," and the "gold standard."

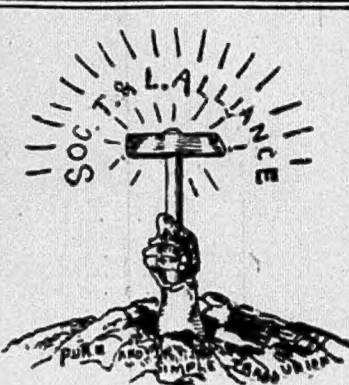
It is quite likely, however, that this course has been something of an economic necessity. The principal source of the colony's income has been the "Coming Nation." Therefore every attempt has been made to increase its circulation. But the time was not ripe for a large circulation of a paper teaching clear-cut Socialism; hence to get a large circulation they were compelled to publish a lot of middle class delusion, Populist fallacy, and colonization dreamlets. The paper was the last resort for every economic freak that capitalism has produced; and it had to accept the dissertations of the freaks or go out of the newspaper business, which it was loth to do, for going out of the newspaper business meant going out of the colony business. And so the farce was kept up.

Having a fairly good printing plant, they naturally desired to get all they could out of it, and branched out into the publishing business. They began the publication of a "Telegrapher's Advocate," which was to get the telegraphers imbued with the colony idea. But after a few issues the "Advocate" discontinued. Then St. Louis "Labor" was having a hard row to hoe, and Sanderson persuaded the Ruskinites to take hold of it and use for its columns matter that had previously been served up to the subscribers of the "Coming Nation." Wherever the Socialist Labor Party had a thriving organization, there "Labor" was sent by the thousands with its half-baked Socialism and its milk and water tactics. It was going to broaden the movement. But "Labor" soon suspended.

Then the colony began to manufacture a few small commodities such as leather suspenders, leather belts, chewing gum, and cereal coffee, raised flower seeds and bulbs, enlarged photographs, and attempted to make a few honest pennies in various other ways. They relied on the "co-operation" of their friends to secure a market for their products. This co-operation was necessary because as a general thing their tools were crude, and consequently their products were inferior to those produced by the more modern machinery of capitalist production; but the co-operation was not sufficient to enlarge materially the business of the colony.

Early in 1897 the "Coming Nation" was black with headlines describing the "Ruskin College of the New Economy," which was to be built for the purpose of giving "Socialist education" to the youth of the land. Every Utopian in the country was appealed to for contributions. Pictures were print-

(Continued on page 3)



To the Members of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

Comrades:—On the 4th of April last the weavers employed by the Slater Mills Corporation in Slatersville went out on strike for an increase in wages. Among the strikers were a number of experienced comrades, who in short order had them organized into a solid S. T. & L. A. After a four weeks' struggle, conducted in a remarkably intelligent manner, a compromise was reached. The men went back under an agreement to increase wages, recognize the Alliance and not to discriminate against any of the strikers. But capitalist promises, like capitalist honor, are froth, and mean nothing.

No sooner had the men returned than steps were immediately taken to crush the revolutionary spirit that had manifested itself with such vigor, and to the cost of the capitalists. The boldest comrades were singled out for destruction. Five men were discharged in succession some without giving reasons and others were brutally told to "get out" because they were "Socialist disturbers."

The object was plain. These men had been untiring in Socialist propaganda and had rolled up a vote of 27 per cent. in their town for the S. T. & L. A. Section had just been formed, and the real purpose was to stamp out the Socialist spirit in North Smithfield. The corporation owned all the tenements and in putting comrades out of the factory, they would compel them to leave the town, and thus give a free reign to the bunco parties of capital. The comrades remaining would be sent after the others or frightened from all activity. Moreover the employers and the agents of their frequent and fervent personal praise—the fakirs and their pure and simple unions—would proclaim broadcast the impotency and utter failure of the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P. to protect wage workers from brutal persecution.

As a result of this, the Slatersville comrades have again gone on strike, fully conscious that their masters were aiming to destroy the Socialist Movement in their town. There's a desperate struggle of Socialist against reactionary forces. The comrades involved are in extreme poverty, without means, refused credit at the store, and in momentary risk of being evicted from the corporation tenements and driven from the town. They merit and should have the support of every Socialist in the land.

Comrades, this is our struggle. Our principles are at issue, and the efficiency of the Socialist and New Trade Unionist Movement is at stake.

The Textile workers of Rhode Island are rallying to the S. T. & L. A. This is practically its first battle with the opposing forces in this State. The lines are sharply and clearly drawn. Now is the time to show what we are made of, and what the S. T. & L. A. backed by the S. L. P. can accomplish for class-conscious workmen. The Alliances and Sections in Rhode Island have organized to support their striking brethren. The recent epidemic of strikes in our State has almost impoverished us. We need and must have the help of comrades all over the country. Contributions should be made without delay.

RHODE ISLAND D. A., S. T. & L. A. STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P. Send remittances to the Treasurer, P. CURRAN, 64 Hanover street, Providence, R. I.

An other curiosity that has floated into this office during the week is a broad-paged "Suggestion" from Potterville, Cal., and signed "A Hayseed." Its purpose is to suggest how the people of this country may get their own in 1900. The means to this desirable end is that wagons be fitted out in every State with Kenetoscope and Phonographic effects, "Kenetoscope to represent Comrades Debs, De Leon, Harriman, Benham, Casson, Mayor Jones and other first-class speakers delivering their best speeches." Us seems that if the people of this country were to be deluged with speeches from such contradictory sources, they, in 1900, they would be either ready for the lunatic asylum—or for absorption by the Demo-Republican party.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

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THE PEOPLE.

Published at 184 William Street, New York
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are enclosed.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) 2,068
In 1890 13,331
In 1892 (Presidential) 21,157
In 1894 33,133
In 1896 (Presidential) 36,564
In 1898 82,204

How good one feels when one is full—how
satisfied with oneself and with the world!
People who have tried it tell me that a clear
conscience makes you very happy and contented;
but a full stomach does the business quite
as well. One feels so forgiving and generous
after a substantial and well-digested meal—so
noble-minded, so kindly-hearted.

JEROME K. JEROME.

THE VOICE OF VIRGINIA'S
STATE COMMITTEE.

MANCHESTER, Va., May 21.—At a
meeting of the State Committee of the
Socialist Labor Party in Virginia, held to-
day, the following resolutions were
reported as having been adopted by
Section Richmond, which requested
that same be adopted by the State
Committee, and this having been done,
I am instructed to forward a copy of
the resolutions for publication in THE
PEOPLE:

"WHEREAS, The Socialist Labor
Party is the accredited wing of the In-
ternational Socialist Movement in the
United States, and is charged with the
most sacred responsibility that can be
assumed by or conferred upon any or-
ganization—viz., the emancipation of
the proletariat from wage slavery by the
overthrow of capitalism and the estab-
lishment of the Co-operative Common-
wealth as a substitute for the anar-
chical system of production and
distribution which exists to-day; and
"WHEREAS, The accomplishment
of this great undertaking depends en-
tirely upon the Socialist Labor Party
being kept in the straight, uncompromis-
ing course which has marked its
history, and to which its present
strength and influence are solely attrib-
utable; and

"WHEREAS, We regard the tactics
that are being pursued by our Party
as constituting the only guarantee that
the S. L. P. will not be retarded in its
growth, if not brought to the verge of
destruction, through taking up the
middle class' burden of tax-reform,
municipalization à la Glasgow, etc.,
etc.; and

"WHEREAS, The dangers accruing
to the S. L. P. from this source are
likely to increase in future, owing to
the fact that our movement is begin-
ning to be understood by capitalism as
its sworn enemy with whom a reckon-
ing must soon be made, and therefore
the capitalist class will adopt any
scheme in order to weaken or annihila-
te the political organization of a
class-conscious proletariat; therefore,
be it

"RESOLVED, First, that for the reasons
above cited the State Committee
of the Socialist Labor Party in Vir-
ginia hereby expresses its hearty ap-
proval of the course pursued by the
National Executive Committee and by
the Editors of our national organs in
calling a halt on the vacillating and
treasonable policy of the "Volkzeitung,"
and in refuting the false econo-
mics taught in that paper.

"RESOLVED, Second, that we favor
a plan whereby the Socialistic Co-
operative Publishing Association and
its work shall be subordinated to the
principles and tactics of the Party
which brought it into existence, and to
whom it should be made responsible
for all its acts. Failing in the accom-
plishment of this, we advocate that im-
mediate steps be taken by the Party
through its National Executive Com-
mittee to divorce itself from all con-
nection, direct or indirect, with the
said Socialistic Co-operative Publish-
ing Association, and to bring the pub-
lication of our national organs under
the immediate supervision of the
Party.

"RESOLVED, Third, that we take
this occasion to express our apprecia-
tion of the vigilance, ability, and un-
compromising faithfulness to Socialist
principle, of our National Executive
Committee, and of the Editors of THE
PEOPLE and the "Vorwaerts," both
of which papers are an honor to the
cause they so capably represent."

By order of the Virginia State Com-
mittee,

ALEX. B. McCULLOCH,
State Secretary.

"The Panama Strike Settled" is the
news of the day. Now get ready to
hear of some fresh outrage.

IT MOVES AND SPREADS.

Three incidents have recently oc-
curred, within a few days of one an-
other, that certainly are significant for
the Labor World. Any one of them
would be significant enough; the three
combined and crowding together tell
an intensifying tale, denoting the
strong pulsations of the So-
cialist Labor Party and its spread, to-
gether with the accompanying mani-
festations of such development. The
three incidents are strung across the
country.

The first is in Roanoke, Va. The S.
L. P. of the place, being in the midst
of a municipal campaign, spreading
literature, agitating, thereby dispelling
the darkness of ignorance, and accord-
ingly, threatening the comfort of the
owls, the capitalists and the Labor
Fakirs reached each other the band.
A "Central Trade & Labor Council" of
the place, an organization that had
hitherto violently opposed "politics in
Unions," comes forward with a "Labor"
ticket. Its programme reads like the
programme of tax-paying saloon-
keepers and small traders generally;
aided by Democratic corruption funds,
these gentlemen are intent upon no
purpose other than creating confusion,
split up the workingman's vote, there-
by discouraging, if possible, further
Socialist agitation, and insuring Demo-
cratic capitalist supremacy. The cor-
rupt purpose, being transparent, the
immediate effect of the performance is
to help bury pure and simple; to help
recommending the S. L. P.

The second is almost similar but
upon somewhat different lines. It is
in Cleveland, O. The Central Labor
Union of that city is a good deal fur-
ther developed than the corresponding
body in Roanoke. In the latter the
Labor Fakir still dominates, the class-
conscious element being in the minor-
ity; in the former it is the reverse;
there the class-conscious element is
dominant. From the ranks of these a
resolution was presented on the per-
formances of Gen. Merriam in the
Coeur d'Alene, and it explicitly pointed
out the urgency of Labor's marshaling
itself under the banner of the Socialist
Labor Party. The resolution was
adopted. This dose seems to have been
the hardest yet administered to the
political and labor fakir minority in
the body; it seems to have brought
home to them, more than anything be-
fore, that the fakir's row to hoe is fast
becoming rougher. The result of all of
which seems to be a split in the near
future—one of those splits that denotes
internal growth; one of those splits
that to the Labor Movement is what
the "split" of a milk-tooth is when it is
shoved out or broken off by the on-
coming strong and permanent tooth of
man.

The third took place in Salt Lake
City at the convention of the Western
Federation of Miners. There the Com-
mittee on Resolutions presented over
their signatures the following resolu-
tion WHICH WAS ADOPTED:

We believe that the only means of
counteracting the evil effects of that giant
development of modern evolution—the
trust—is the education of the people along
the lines of Socialism, that they may be
enabled to understand that instead of being
a curse, it can be changed to a blessing by
simply changing the ownership from private
to collective.

Finally, we recommend that some action
be taken whereby all the working people of
the West can be brought to a realization
of the necessity of united action at the
polls, as the surest and speediest method
to redress all our grievances. In our op-
inion the surest means of attaining this ob-
ject is through the adoption and support in
its entirety of the platform of the Socialist
Labor Party. Respectfully submitted,
D. P. HENDRICKS,
T. J. SULLIVAN,
E. A. CRELL,
JAMES LEMON,
THOMAS PATEN.

Thus, beginning in Roanoke, where
the S. L. P. is driving the crooks to
show their colors; proceeding over
Cleveland, where the S. L. P. has
ripened further and is snuffing off the
crooks; we finally reach Salt Lake City
where at a trades convention of no less
importance a trade than the Western
miners' the S. L. P. is fully endorsed,
accepted and recommended to the
working class.

In next week's issue the details of
the Roanoke and Cleveland incidents
will be published. Let this rapid re-
view of the three events suffice for to-
day.

The future belongs to the true.

There reached this office a neat four-
leaf pamphlet, that, despite its neat,
white appearance, may be the harbinger
of bloody feats to come. It is an
"Appeal to the Dominican People," the
people of the island of San Domingo,
located between Cuba and Puerto
Rico, to "die or be free." The appeal
purports to be written by a patriot who
tells blood-curdling stories about the
present President of the Dominican
Republic.

That the "President" in question is
none too good to be incapable of the
acts imputed to him is a very likely
thing. Nevertheless, just such "patriotic
manifestos" as the one before us are
the kinds of things that "War Syn-
dicates" of capitalists are wont to get
up when they have designs on foreign
territory. So it began with Cuba.

Barely has the stench of the Seelye
Dinner subsided, and the feats of the
"moral," "family upholding" Horacio
H. Harper among the precious lot of
Socialist haters begun to be forgotten,
when the "family upholding" spirit of

capitalism made an exhibition of itself
in the adulterous Belmont-Bloane af-
fair; and hardly is this event sinking
below the horizon when a new one
comes in to supplant both. It now
turns out that Mr. Thomas J. Have-
meyer did not die "in the arms of his
family" at his own home, but rather
unorthodoxly in the house of some
other woman with whom that "pillar
of society" had been living for some
time.

Did our American delegates approve,
by commission or by omission, of the
following telegram sent by the Peace
Conference to the Czar of Russia?

The Peace Conference lays at the feet of
your Majesty its respectful congratulations
upon the occasion of your birthday, and
expresses its sincere desire to cooperate in
the great and noble work in which your
Majesty has taken a generous initiative, and
for which it begs you to accept its humble
and profound gratitude.

Probably, certainly.
Surely it is not the American people
these worthies represent. The Ameri-
can people are not ready to so abuse
themselves. It is the American capi-
talist, with his heiresses for sale, that
went down at the feet of the Czar.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Bremen, Germany, "Bürgerzeitung,"
writing on the May Day holiday
says:

Not only does the capitalist class use all
the industrial means of capital to force the
working class into submission, but it also
wields its political power, with the aid of
legislation, to create a jurisdiction which
prevents the workers to use the only power-
ful weapon wherewith to achieve victory,
namely ORGANIZATION.

But wherever workingmen, in spite of all
oppression and intimidation, have united,
true to one another, and have arrayed their
organized forces against the power of capi-
tal, wherever they have stopped the wheels
of industry to enforce their just demands,
then in France as well as in England, in
Austria as well as in "free" America, fire-
arms have spoken in favor of the exploiters,
in the interest of method of law and order,
and if we, in Germany thus far, have been
spared such conflicts, it is solely due to the
prudent and wise conduct of the German
working class educated under the banner
of Socialism, who, although subjected to all
manner of petty and malicious persecutions
during the Bismarckian reign of terror,
have never lost our presence of mind, our
class-consciousness and above all our ulti-
mate aim.

If the below from the "Boot and
Shoes Weekly," a capitalist organ,
means anything it means a notice to
the pure and simple labor leaders that
their days are counted, the bosses no
longer needing them to help keep down
the workers:

There is an old saying to the effect that
the worm which has been tormented for an
indefinite period will sometimes turn upon
its tormentors.

The worm warned in Chicago quite re-
cently when the daily newspapers closed up
their offices and did not print a paper for
several days rather than submit to the ex-
traordinary demands of the Stereotype
Union. The result was what might have
been expected—the defeat of the union.
The union stereotypes did not believe that
the daily newspapers of Chicago would
dare suspend publication rather than sub-
mit to their demands. But the worm had
reached a point where it could stand it no
longer, and the result was disastrous to the
union.

The lesson of this strike and its result
may well be taken to heart by members of
all unions everywhere, but probably it will
have little effect. Each particular union
or organization of men insists upon knowing
themselves how it feels to strike and get
beaten.

Clear the way for the Alliance!

This is interesting! This week's
"Vorwaerts," the Party's national or-
gan in German, has the following edi-
torial notice at the head of its editorial
columns:

AS TO THE SO-CALLED "SUPPLEMENT
TO No. 21 OF 'VORWAERTS.'"

Let our readers take notice that the
"Supplement to No. 21 of the 'Vorwaerts,'"
issued by the "New Yorker Volkszeitung,"
is not a supplement to the "Vorwaerts,"
but a separate publication. It is edited by
the undersigned under control of the
National Executive Committee of the
S. L. P. The said "Supplement" has been
gotten up without the knowledge and con-
sent of the National Executive Committee
of the S. L. P. Editor the "Vorwaerts."

No comment is needed to the facts
herein mentioned, except that they are
a valuable contribution to the docu-
ments that will elucidate near at hand
history.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when
your subscription expires. Renew in time. It
will prevent interruption in the mailing of the
paper and facilitate work at the office.

The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance
is making itself felt in Pennsylvania
in a manner that was not anticipated:
Incipient strikes are prevented by
prompt compromises on the part of the
employers under the threat that, if
they don't the men will join the Alli-
ance. The threat works like magic.

A third 5,000 edition of the pamphlet
"What Means this Strike?" is now out.
Its large sale is a gratifying sign of
the times, and it is an evidence of the
class of literature that is most useful
and, consequently, best called for.

The English translation of Karl
Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that
some time ago ran through THE PEOP-
LE, is now to be had bound in an ele-
gant volume of 73 pages, with Marx'
picture as frontispiece. No Socialist,
even though he be no student, and no
student, even though he be no Socialist,
can afford to be without it. Apply La-
bor News Co., 147 E. 23d street, N. Y.
City. Price, 25 cents.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when
your subscription expires. Renew in time. It
will prevent interruption in the mailing of the
paper and facilitate work at the office.

The receipt of a sample copy of this
paper is an invitation to subscribe.

SUMMING UP.

About three months ago a number of
applications were coming to this office
from the State of Washington, from
towns in Ohio and from places in this
State for the reproduction of the
"Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan"
dialogue on taxation that had appeared
in these columns about a year pre-
viously. The reasons given for the re-
quests were almost identical: the "re-
formers," acting as advance clouds of
dust for the approaching Democratic
party storm, were raising the cry of
"Taxation"; the people, it was claimed
by these elements, were crushed by
taxes, the removal of which would be
"a step in the right direction," besides
being a practical move. Our cor-
respondents realized the insidiousness
of such claims, and wished to brace up
their neighborhoods against the folly.

Indeed, in the whole gamut of capi-
talist dodges to confuse the working
class and capture its vote, there is
none in this country so insidious,
plausible and bamboozling as the cry
of "Taxation." The circumstance that
Labor produces all wealth, and conse-
quently, is the sole supporter of the
Nation, is used as correct premises and
back ground for false conclusions. It
is a case in which the jugglery of
words is not readily detected. The "re-
form" and other capitalist political
swindlers grant by implication the So-
cialist contention that Labor produces
all wealth, wherupon they declare
that Labor PAYS the taxes OUT OF
ITS WAGES, and thence point to the
immediate relief that Labor would de-
rive from a reduction of the "burden"
of taxes; the taxes being lower, it is
claimed by these people, the working-
man would have to pay so much less
for what they need, and consequently
would have so much more money left
to buy things with. This Three-card
Monte swindle forms, if not the ground
work, yet the main stock in trade of
the "Free trade," the "single tax," the
"Good Government" movements.
Against this insidious scheme of de-
ception, the Party in this country has
had to firmly put its face; the de-
lusion was found to be a leading ob-
stacle in the path of the propagandist
in his work of educating the working
class in class-consciousness. The false
notion that the workingman could get
instantaneous relief, not from a third,
but from one of the Old parties, could
not but act as a lure to draw them
from the right course. Accordingly,
the Party's literature teams with argu-
ments against the fallacy; facts have
been heaped upon facts, figures upon
figures knocking down the under-pin-
ning of the sophistry; and in its plat-
form declarations the Party crystal-
lized the scientific principle that wages
do not depend upon taxation, but upon
the law of values as applied to Labor
in the Labor market; that taxes are
paid by the capitalist class out of that
portion of the wealth which the work-
ers produce but are robbed of in the
shop anyhow; in short, that all the
jabber about taxes was a capitalist
issue. In response to the pressing de-
mands for the said "Uncle Sam &
Brother Jonathan" making these points
clear, it was reproduced on last
March 5.

Two days later, March 7, the "New
Yorker Volkszeitung" published a one-
column leading editorial dead against
the essential principles expressed in
that "Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan."
In that editorial attacking the prin-
ciples stated by THE PEOPLE, the taxes
were point blank declared to
come from the wages of the working
class, and the question of taxes was
raised to one of importance to the
working class, not only by reason of
the preponderance of space devoted to
it, but also and especially so by reason
of the amazing statistics adduced—the
55th Congress was claimed to have im-
posed a burden of fifteen hundred mil-
lion dollars a year upon the people, and
this was figured out to mean \$100 a
year taken out of the wages of the
average workingman's family.

No theory can stand without facts;
theories must fit facts, not facts
theories—at least with people qualified
to discuss a question. Indeed, a theory
is nothing but a deduction from facts;
only in the measure that the facts are
true and sufficient, and that the deduc-
tion is logical from such facts is it or
the theory sound.

If a ship is claimed to be staunch,
the staunchness of the ship is a deduc-
tion, and, in so far a theory. The
soundness or unsoundness of the
theory depends wholly upon the fact
whether the ship keeps out the water,
or whether she does not. If she does,
the theory is sound; if she does not, it
is unsound. Accordingly, if to the
claim that a ship is "staunch" objection
is raised, the theoretical discussion
about her staunchness becomes sec-
ondary; the theory of her staunchness
may be spattered with incidentally, but
only as a preliminary to the real ques-
tion—the question of fact; if the ob-
jection is insisted on, then earnest men
drop theorizing and consider facts
only; only triflers or ill-intentioned
people would bite themselves fast in a
purely theoretic controversy. The real
issue forthwith becomes one of fact—
does the ship take in water or does she
not?

The question of fact once turned to,
it becomes a question of FACTS, that
is, THINGS WORTH CONSIDERING,
because only such facts can throw
light on the theory of the ship's
staunchness. Let, accordingly, the ob-
jector produce in substantiation of his
claim a cup-ful of bilge water, and his
"evidence" will be rejected. It is so
trifling that it would not be even worth
the while to inquire whether the cup-
ful of bilge water that he produces is
bona fide, or whether it is not a fraud;
whether he really dipped it out of the
vessel's hold, or whether he carried it
into the vessel himself. "De minimis
non curat lex" (the law does not bother
about trifles) is a principle not of juris-
prudence only, not of biology and so-
ciology only, it is a principle of com-
mon sense and common decency in de-
bate. The objector to the theory that
a ship is staunch, and who would come
up with his cup-ful of bilge water as
proof, would be roundly hooted out of
court. When, however, the objector
claims that the ship lets in tons of
ocean water, then does he make allega-
tions of fact that entitle him to a hear-
ing, but that, at the same time, throw

upon himself the duty of proving his
allegations.

Applying these obvious principles to
the controversy raised by the "Volk-
zeitung," what do we find?

The "Volkzeitung" knew or felt full
well that if it joined issue with THE
PEOPLE, and sought to prove that
the workingmen DID pay the taxes
out of their own wages, by claiming
that, since the 55th Congress, the
"collar" on the workingman's glass of
beer had become larger; that the pack-
ages of tobacco had been slightly re-
duced; that the number of prizes in-
side of these packages had become
fewer; that patent cough medicines
now cost a cent more; etc., etc.,—it
knew or felt that if it adduced any
such trifles as evidence it would be
laughed at from the start and make
no impression whatever. It felt that
FACTS, and not trifles, were the es-
sential basis for all theory, and ac-
cordingly it laid the foundation for its
attack in the colossal figures of fifteen
hundred million dollars of taxes, and
in the detailed statement of \$100 taxes
strapped on the back of the average
workingman's family! This certainly
was equivalent to saying that a ship,
claimed to be staunch, was letting in
tons of ocean water. Upon so stupen-
dous a claim as that, no theory, but
facts must have the floor. Yet it has
been impossible to get the "Volkzeitung"
down to that. After shortly re-
futing its theory with theoretic utter-
ances of Marx and Engels, we ques-
tioned its facts and pointedly pro-
nounced its figures juggled,—yet it
dodged the issue and sought shelter in
a cloud of irrelevant theoretical dust.
We then pressed the point; gave con-
densed figures ourselves proving that
the "Volkzeitung's" figures were
false, the tax being less than one half
what it claimed, and we proved that
its facts were preposterous, that the
tax laid on an article of consumption
is not paid by the consumer unless the
price rises, and that the price of the
articles of workingman-consumption
had notably not risen;—yet still it
dodged the point. The Party's Ger-
man organ, the "Vorwaerts," went into
an elaborate examination of the fig-
ures, showing the scandalousness of
the "Volkzeitung's" attitude,—but all
of no avail: finding itself knocked out,
the "Volkzeitung" has been burrow-
ing deeper and deeper into and under
abstractions, prevarications, and mis-
quotations, and downright falsifica-
tions and trifles.

Summing up the discussion, this
stands out unquestionably:

1. Upon a substructure of what it
now knows to be false figures and
false facts, taken bodily from some
Democratic campaign document, and
even preposterously inflated, the
"Volkzeitung" published on March 7
an article the first two-thirds of which
make direct agitation for the Demo-
cratic party; and, as a result, the last
third of which makes direct agitation
against the S. L. P.

2. In Germany, taxes often have a
revolutionary effect. Not infrequently
it happens that a tax on an article of
consumption, beer or tobacco, is felt by
the consumer the very next day in the
increased price, and thereby produces
veritable riots. We have been in-
formed of instances where, in such
cases, even the soldiers (German sol-
diers) are seen joining the rioters,
pulling out their short swords, digging
up the paving stones with them, and
using these as missiles. In such a
country the tax question has a tactical
value. The editorial management of
the "Volkzeitung" do not realize that
they are not living in Germany.
Dominated by alien habits of thought,
and protected with but skin-deep
Marxism, the gentlemen throw over-
board even the fundamental principle
uttered by Engels to the effect that
taxes are to the bourgeois of much, but
to the working class of very little im-
portance, seeing that what the work-
ingman pays in taxes goes in the long
run into the cost of production of labor-
power, and MUST BE BORNE BY
THE CAPITALIST.

A discussion with people animated
so little by the intellectual force or
rectitude would seem a waste of time.
But not so. It has served to emphasize
and re-demonstrate the correctness of
the Party's attitude on the question of
taxation and, at least, to weaken, if
not break down, the evil effect upon
the movement that the said scandalous
article of March 7 would otherwise
have had.

As to the other issues raised by the
discussion: the "Volkzeitung's" im-
pudence of presuming to set itself
above the Party; its defiance of the
Party's official declarations, and,
thereby of its own constitution; its
suppression of the Party's voice;—
these and many other kindred issues
belong under a different head and will
be duly treated in the fullness of
time.

A Dread Monster.

(Written for THE PEOPLE by E. J. Rife-
man, Wausau, Wis.)

There is a mighty monster
That dwells in the land of ours,—
A horrid, heartless monster
Who holds us in his power.

He wants the earth and heavens,
And all that they contain,
For plunder is his passion
And sorrowful his reign.

He attacks the weak and helpless
And makes their hearts to bleed,
He robs the poor and needy
To satisfy his greed.

All that the earth produces
For man's happiness and ease,
He gets a corner on it
And then begins to squeeze.

And still he keeps on squeezing
The poor out of their share,
Until to suicide or crime
They're driven by despair.

By all that's true and holy,
By all that's good and great
This monster must be throttled
Before it is too late.

For virtue is his plying,
Religion is his jest,
They too, must serve his purpose
Along with all the rest.

Oh, erstwhile happy nation,
Calamity shall speed
To hasten thy destruction
While a prey to Mammon's greed.

Then, friends, all to the rescue!
His power you can resist.
Else he will overwhelm us,
The Dread Monopolist.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan

Brother Jonathan—The Socialists
make a great mistake in agitating so
much among the workingmen and so
little among the rich people.

Uncle Sam—In how far is that a mis-
take?

B. J.—Because there are more capi-
talists among the workingmen than
among the capitalists.

U. S.—Hey? Say that again.
B. J.—You don't believe it?
U. S.—What?

B. J.—That there are piles of capital-
ists among the workingmen.

U. S.—No; I don't believe it. I can
no more believe it than I can believe
that a Zulu can be a man of Caucasian
race.

B. J.—Now, there you have it. Your
answer helps me to make clear my
point. You Socialists draw the lines
too sharp; you don't allow anything
for sentiment, and what that implies.

U. S.—Make your point.

B. J.—I claim that a capitalist is
man who has the vicious instinct of a
bloodsucker, a man who is anxious to
live at the expense of others. That's
what I call a capitalist. And for that
reason I say there are lots of work-
ingmen who are capitalists. The man who
would live upon others is to all intents
and purposes a capitalist.

U. S.—And the man who will make
such a statement is to all intents and
purposes a muddlehead.

B. J.—Muddlehead, yourself!

U. S.—Would you not like to be a
millionaire?

B. J.—Of course I would; think of all
the good time I would have!

U. S.—And why don't you take that
good time?

B. J.—How you talk! How can I
TAKE that good time if I have not the
money of a millionaire?

U. S.—But a millionaire is a man who
would like to be one. The man who
would like to take a good time is to all
intents and purposes a millionaire.

B. J.—Nonsense, my wishing to be a
millionaire don't make me one; to be
one I must own a million dollars.

U. S.—It follows that sentiment has
nothing to do with case?

B. J.—Nothing whatever.

U. S.—Nothing short of the hard ma-
terial cash or its equivalent will make
a man a millionaire?

B. J.—Nothing short of that; any fool
can see that.

U. S.—And yet it seems that any fool,
you among them, can't see that nothing
short of capital can make a man a
capitalist.

B. J.—But if—

U. S.—A capitalist is a man who lives
on the sweat of the brow of others, eh?

B. J.—Certainly.

RUSKIN COLONY.

(Continued from page 1.)

ed of the completed building with a flag floating from the flagstaff of the capitol, a fountain playing in the park, and the sword covered with students, the idealism of this, but they went further and published floor plans showing the location of class rooms, recitation rooms, laboratories and reception rooms. The dollars and cents began to roll in as a result of this judicious exploit of the imagination. Excavations were begun, and the corner stone laid in June, 1897. Henry D. Lloyd was brought on from Chicago and spoke seven columns and a half about the consciousness of the occasion. The address of Lloyd was used for all it was worth, and contributions continued to flow in with a healthy regularity. Gradually, however, the enthusiasm ebbed, reports of the progress of the work were intermittently printed, and on November 22, 1898, the receipt and expense account ceased altogether with the following:

Amount received to date.....\$120.23
Amount expended to date.....\$119.55
Balance.....\$400.68

And that is the last information that has been published regarding the college building and equipment fund. The work on the sub-structure was of course done by members of the colony, and the money contributed thus got into the colony's treasury. On December 31, 1898, shortly after Herbert N. Casson reached Ruskin, a special boom edition of the "Coming Nation" was published, but not a word appeared about the college or the college fund. The idea had been worked for all it was worth and then dropped.

RETRIBUTIVE FIGURES.

At various times after the Ruskin Colony was started, THE PEOPLE received numerous communications relative to the advisability of workingmen who had managed to save \$500 joining the colony and handing their hard-earned dollars over to the colony officials. THE PEOPLE uniformly advised against such action, and predicted that the colony would ultimately go to the wall from internal dissensions due to external competition. In July, 1897, while the colony was being sued by some of the retiring members, THE PEOPLE printed an article questioning the honesty of the management, and expressed the opinion that the leading spirits in the colony were a "ring of unconscionable pirates, who are sailing the waters of the Social Movement under the false colors of Socialism." In vehement and abusive language THE PEOPLE was told that it was wrong, and to completely knock out THE PEOPLE, the "Coming Nation" printed figures as follows:

Colony assets when incorporated.....\$18,040.00
Colony assets on Jan. 1, 1898.....28,114.54
Colony assets on Jan. 1, 1897.....69,100.05

Among the persons signing this financial statement were the following:

A. S. Edwards, Paul Schneider, W. H. Lawson, J. K. Lawson, E. B. Lombard, M. F. Rogers, J. A. Sturgis, Emma White, W. H. Ribbey, J. H. Dodson, A. M. Dodson, W. H. Charlesworth, Kate Rogers, Myrtle Sturgis, W. W. White, Robert Jackson.

The editor of the "Coming Nation" and the writer of the article containing the above statement was A. S. Edwards, at present getting his living by abusing the Socialist Labor Party through the medium of the "English-speaking organ" of Mr. Debs' "Social Democracy."

On January 1, 1897, the liabilities were claimed to be practically nothing, and the shareholders were but sixty-three, making almost \$1,000 a person, while none of them had put in more than \$500 apiece, and many had been permitted to "work out" the price of their shares. This was a really good showing—nearly a doubling of individual assets; recent developments, however, are showing that these assets are largely fictitious.

THE PEOPLE INDICATED.

But the wheels of time roll on, and the colony continues to "prosper." New members are "taken in" nearly every week, the property is improved, and their prosperity becomes so great that on January 28, 1899, less than four months ago, Allen Fields, President of the Ruskin Co-operative Association, publishes a sworn financial statement in which the assets are given at \$24,073.19, and the liabilities practically nothing. It may here be observed that these gentlemen have never regarded the thousands of dollars they owe for the land as a liability, because, forsooth, the mortgage is not yet due. This is much like borrowing \$100 for ninety days, and then insisting that it is not a liability until the last day of grace. And at the time President Allen Fields swore to that utterly misleading statement seventeen members of the colony had applied for a receivership to wind up the affairs of the Association, calling for the sale of the property and the division of the proceeds among the stockholders. The receivership was granted on April 24, but owing to legal technicalities was revoked the following day. Some of the allegations taken from the body of the complaint are unique. The object of the corporation as defined in the charter is to establish a mining and manufacturing company. The seventeen persons who make the complaint, and most of whom were charter members, attack themselves and their alleged principles as follows:

Complainants charge that these by-laws, by the law of the colony, are null and void as not being adapted for the purposes of a mining and manufacturing company, and are the basis or foundation of a Socialist community.

Complainants show to the court that the defendants are engaged in a business of publishing a newspaper called the "Coming Nation" and under the charter aforesaid the same is not for the purpose of advertising the legitimate business of the defendant corporation, but the same is being operated for profit as a business venture for the purpose of making a fortune, and complainants are entitled to sue and compel the defendants to discontinue to publish said paper for said purposes under the charter aforesaid.

a leader in Mr. Debs' Social Democracy, while the "Coming Nation" itself has ever been tossing bouquets to Debs and his co-delusionists) that the Ruskin Co-operative Association was never intended to be a Socialist community, that it was intended to be a corporation run for profit, and they ask the courts of the United States to come to their aid and sit down on any Socialist inclinations that may manifest themselves in the colony. When rogues fall out, then we can get a good deal of information and the present editor of the "Coming Nation" now admits all that THE PEOPLE has ever said regarding the rascality of the whole gang that started Ruskin, from A. J. Wayland down the line to A. S. Edwards. Listen to this:

The same parties have often during the past year stated in conversation that this is not and was never intended to be a Socialist undertaking.

Here we have the disgusting spectacle of men who helped organize a "colony in the interest of Socialism" turning around and demanding a wind-up of the affairs of the Association because the business they instituted is not what they claimed it was. They have ever been appealing to Socialists for support, and now go into court and admit that they are a lot of clever rascals and never intended to put into operation any Socialist principles at all, even though it was possible to do so. W. J. Ribbey, one of these men who have been appealing for the good Socialists of the country to rally around Ruskin, describes himself as an Anarchist with strong disciplinary tendencies.

Other allegations in the bill of these gentlemen are fully as interesting. Listen to the following:

And complainants allege that this corporation WAS IMPRACTICABLE in its conception and is now manifestly incapable of execution. THE PEOPLE IN ITS TREASURY, the property owned by the defendants is yielding no income; and, if any, it is absorbed in the way pointed out in the first part of the bill.

And complainants allege that the defendants, by their mismanagement, have never paid one cent of dividend on stock and never intend to do so; but intend to divert the income of the corporation to ultra vires purposes heretofore mentioned.

They then give the amount the Association owes on its various tracts of land, and proceed with these words:

The defendant corporation has no money to pay off said debts and can get none, because none will buy any more stock and because the corporation is making nothing. In fact, it is losing money. Premises considered, complainants pray for process, and that they be required to answer without delay, and that the defendants, who are the property of the Ruskin Co-operative Association be sold, the debts of the concern paid, and what remains be divided among the stockholders. That the defendants, directors, be enjoined by the State's writ of injunction from doing any acts not within the scope of the powers of a mining and manufacturing company, such as operating a hotel, making a weekly payment of the funds of the corporation to the members of the voluntary association, running or operating a school and lyceum at the expense of the corporation, or making any other use of the voluntary association.

The bill of allegations thus quoted from is signed by the following seven stockholders:

A. S. Edwards, Paul Schneider, W. H. Lawson, J. K. Lawson, E. B. Lombard, M. F. Rogers, J. A. Sturgis, Emma White, W. H. Ribbey, J. H. Dodson, A. M. Dodson, W. H. Charlesworth, Kate Rogers, Myrtle Sturgis, W. W. White, Robert Jackson.

On July 31, 1897, thirteen out of the above seventeen persons signed the statement in the "Coming Nation," quoted a few paragraphs above, and denied with all the vehemence that guilt could muster that anything was the matter with Ruskin. THE PEOPLE had said the scheme was impracticable. They retorted that the colonists were doing more to demonstrate the truths of Socialism than THE PEOPLE had ever done or ever would do, and affirmed in black type that Ruskin WAS practicable. Now the persons who signed that statement go into court and make oath that "the corporation was IMPRACTICABLE," thereby admitting that the position of THE PEOPLE and the Socialist Labor Party was a correct position, and that they, themselves, were nothing but a lot of clumsy timberleggers.

THE PEOPLE offered the opinion that the colony would ultimately go to the wall from internal dissension due to external competition. In rebuttal it was stated that the colony always had prospered, was prospering, and always would prosper. And the same gentlemen who signed that statement denying the existence of any conditions justifying the position taken by THE PEOPLE, now go into court, all of them, and swear that the colony has never prospered, isn't prospering, and can't get money enough to pay off the mortgage on its property.

THE PEOPLE averred that the colony had not been started to make any experiments in Socialism, but rather that it had been started, and was being run, by a lot of clever rascals whose only object was to prey on the unwary and rope in the credulous. With an earnestness born of despair they declaimed with a loud voice that they were all patriots, that "Ruskin Socialism" was the only Socialism, and that they were doing more to lead people toward the Co-operative Commonwealth than all the Socialist Labor Party of the country.

Now these same persons go into court and swear that the incorporators of the Ruskin Co-operative Association never intended to found a "Socialistic" community, and that every attempt on the part of any members of the colony to do so is in violation of the express stipulations of the charter. And the rascality of the whole scheme is more apparent when it is remembered that the seventeen members now making oath to these statements were nearly all of them with the colony during the period of its organization, and thus shaped the management of the colony. They, themselves, boomed the hotel; they, themselves, boomed the school; they, themselves, boomed the "neat little cottages"; they, themselves, boomed the "Coming Nation"; they, themselves, were constantly telling people how virtuous Ruskinites were; and now they, themselves, go into court and swear that the whole business was nothing more than a sham and a fraud. In July, 1897, they signed a statement that the colony was getting along swimmingly. Since then according to the sworn statements of the officials of the colony more than thirty thousand dollars have been added to the assets, and now in spite of all this "adding" the recalcitrants

make oath that the colony is bankrupt, and the nonrecalcitrants admit that it is bankrupt by issuing an appeal for FIFTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS to help them over their present "crisis." And this appeal leads us to the conclusion that the present management are moved by no higher ethical motives than are the "kickers" who are praying for dividends. In the issue of the "Coming Nation" for May 6, 1899, it is contended in bold-faced type that the colony is still prospering, while in the issue for May 20, comes the statement that they are in deep financial distress and must have fifteen thousand dollars or go to the wall.

Ninety-four thousand dollars in assets.

No liabilities.

And yet are going to be sold out unless they can secure fifteen thousand dollars from the skies!

Verily, the bookkeeper at Ruskin must be an acrobat on figures and a juggler with dollar-marks.

The history of one colony is the history of all. The rise and the collapse of Ruskin is a type of the rise and the collapse of all other utopian schemes to revolutionize modern society on a small scale and behind its back. We have no objection to gentlemen forming a partnership for private profit, but we have serious objections to their labeling that partnership "Socialism," and appealing to Socialists to support them in their efforts either to live up to a social principle or to secure for themselves a competence.

Colonization has never been a principle of Socialism. The International Movement has not only never indorsed it, but has on the contrary, at all times and in all cases and places, proclaimed its fallacies. The reason is evident. In the first place a co-operative colony of the Ruskin type differs but little from other business undertakings. If ten persons put in \$500 apiece and start a paper, two doing the editing, two the reporting, and six the other work, with the agreement that after each has received enough of the proceeds to pay his living expenses, the profit, if there be any, shall be devoted to enlarging the business so that the company can make more profit, would that company be an experiment in Socialism? Certainly not—no more than would be any other partnership. Yet when ten or a dozen people migrate to the backwoods somewhere and start exactly the same kind of a business, that business is labeled Socialism by the columnists of Socialism. Ruskin has never been anything else but a manufacturing concern. They have conducted a manufacturing business on a small scale, and have competed in the market for the sale of their products on just the same principles as any other corporation competes. They have bought where they could buy the cheapest, and have sold where they could sell the dearest.

Socialism is that social condition of society that will exist when we have the collective ownership and co-operative operation of all the means of production by all the people, and for all the people, with complete political control of the same from the municipality to the nation. The co-operative colony is the collective ownership by a few people of a few of the means of production and none of the means of distribution. It is without economic power to hold its own in the field of competition, and without political power to enforce its decrees.

The co-operative colony is not Socialism. It is not even an experiment in Socialism. IT IS A DENIAL OF SOCIALISM, and with but few exceptions, where the members have been held together by religious ties, it has been driven out of existence by the superior economic force of private capitalist production.

Socialism is broader than a colony. It is broader than a municipality. It is broader than a State. The nation itself is the smallest unit for the proper development of the Co-operative Commonwealth; for the nation is supreme. Even though a municipality be controlled by Socialists, that municipality is still under the domination of a capitalist State. Even though a State is controlled by the Socialists, that State is still under the domination of a capitalist nation. But when the political power of the nation is controlled by the Socialists, Socialism is supreme. The nation has no superior. It is sovereign, and it, and it alone, is the instrument whereby the Co-operative Commonwealth can be realized.

JULIAN PIERCE.
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Nationalization.

To THE PEOPLE.—A good deal of nonsense has been written in later years about Nationalization. It is a very old and very simple idea, the reactionary part of the present denouncing said institutions as Socialistic, and the radical or pseudo-Socialist papers recommending them as sample-dishes of the coming Social Democracy.

Against this it cannot be too strongly emphasized that there is nothing necessarily Socialistic about State and municipal ownership at all. Nothing does more to be called Socialistic unless it aims at the abolition of the wage system. The condition of labor-power as a commodity is the distinctive feature, the very foundation of capitalism, and so long as the workers must sell their labor-power in the market, whether to private or public employers, it is not labor-power that is nationalized, but the means of production, and the laborer would remain an exploited wage slave. The governing and administrative bodies must be converted from organs of capitalism, as they almost universally are at the present time, into organs of Socialism. I hope, however, that men, who stand for the abolition of wage slavery, first, last and all the time, do this by political and revolutionary action, and not the only and royal road to the Social Democracy.

MORRIS NELSON.

Venice, La., May 14.

Socialism and Religion.

To THE PEOPLE.—On the 24th instant I forwarded the enclosed letter to "Justice," but the Editor of that journal refused to publish it, because, I suppose, it lacked the literary finesse requisite to adorn the pages of his paper. I hope, however, that I shall meet with better and more courteous treatment from THE PEOPLE, which is by far and away the truest and most manly exponent of the great gospel of Socialism. I ask you to publish the letter in the hope that it may do some what to deter atheistical fanatics and other faddists from subordinating the Socialist Movement to their own peculiar notions by using it as a propagative force thereof.

W. J. BRADSHAW.
Dublin, Ireland, Apr. 23.

THE SUPPRESSED LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF "JUSTICE."

"Dear Comrade:—I have perused with surprise, not to say astonishment, the fierce, fire-eating, and altogether eccentric epistle of your esteemed correspondent, Mr. W. J. Bradshaw, on 'Socialism and Religion.' Now I want to know what has Socialism to do with religion? He may probably think he has answered this question in his epistle, but I am not a peculiar dialectic. I am still at a loss for the answer, and want to know why religion should occupy the important part in Socialism, and to which he and a few other worldly-minded and egotistical and responsible people would fain assign it. To my mind and in my humble opinion the introduction of religious discussion into the Socialist Movement is distinctly an element more pregnant with seriousness, menace and anger than the most subtly aggressive move on the part of the possessing class.

"It is one of the things, I think, which has materially retarded the progress of Socialism in England; and I therefore venture to say that it would be a very desirable thing for the Socialist Movement to exclude it from the Socialist Movement, except under exceptional circumstances.

"Have not Socialist agitators enough to do to trouble the minds of the workers with the teachings of doctrinaire Socialism, without entangling themselves in lexical webs of theological discussion? We all must sympathize (sic) with the men of letters, and with the cultured intellects stored with a superabundance of human knowledge who always fret and chafe under any restraint which custom or accident may impose upon them; but surely if one of this class of men be a Socialist with the interest of the cause at heart he should subordinate his personal feelings in the matter of religion to the cause and ought not to do anything that might in anywise throw discredit upon it.

"The Socialist Movement is not an arena where to play our belief in the existence of a God, the Socialist Movement, if I rightly conceive its import, is a movement which aims at transferring the means of production and distribution and exchange from the hands of the privileged and plundering few, to the hands of the unprivileged and plundered many; a movement which recognizes the right of the worker to the fruits of his labor; a movement which allows one man to exploit, to plunder his fellow human beings; a movement which recognizes and maintains that the whole course of history has been merely a preparation for the grand emancipation of labor; a movement which is based upon a system of economics laid down and formulated by Karl Marx, one of the greatest, ablest and most enlightened social philosophers that has ever embellished the realm of science—this movement is for complete freedom from economic tradition, and ought to be free from the shackles of the past, and to be a conscious worker under its banner. The workers have not time at this stage of the evolution of society to discuss religious tenets; they must tolerate each other's religious beliefs, and must recognize the movement that solidarity which is the pre-eminent essential of success.

"Workers of the world unite; you have only your chains to lose, and a world to gain."

"Yours fraternally,"

"W. J. BRADSHAW."

A Correction About "The Proletarian."

To THE PEOPLE.—Would you kindly rectify this: The Section Springfield publishes "The Proletarian" but it is intended that all the Sections of Hampshire and Berkshire shall be responsible for its content. It is particularly active in writing for it.

ADOLF MIELLEZ.

Springfield, Mass., May 18.

Construction of a Boston S. L. P. Organization Statute.

To THE PEOPLE.—Please state, in conformity with the following illustration, how many members must or may constitute the Ward Committee of the S. L. P. in Boston. "Sec. 1. The S. L. P. in the City of Boston shall in every Ward elect a committee to be called a Ward Committee to consist of not less than three Party members, with an additional member for each hundred votes or major fraction thereof cast in the respective Wards at the last municipal election, or head of the ticket of the S. L. P." This is the proposed law. Now suppose there is a membership of sixty-five in Ward 9, and that at the last municipal election such a majority was elected. Comrade Goldstein received 500 votes in Ward 9. The Mayor of Boston is elected for two years, while the Board of Aldermen is elected to serve one year only, so there are each year municipal elections, while there is a "head of the ticket" only once in two years. This latter point is of course self-evident. If you will make a statement upon the number of the Committee you will confer a favor.

M. G. M.

Boston, May 19.

[According to the wording of the above quoted Sec. 1, together with the allegation of fact that the head of the S. L. P. ticket polled 500 votes at the last preceding municipal election in Ward 9, the Ward Committee of Ward 9 must consist of 8 members. The circumstance of such a question being at all asked seems to point to a conflict of opinion upon the construction of the first part of the Sec., to wit, whether the election of the additional one member for each 100 votes, or major fraction thereof, is as mandatory as the election of the three Party members just previously provided for, or

whether the election of the additional members is optional. The opinion above given is based on the construction that the election of the additional members is, not optional, but as mandatory as the election of the other three. If the framers of the Sec. meant otherwise they did not say so. The size of the Party membership in Ward 9 is of no consequence.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

More Humors of the Taxation Question.

To THE PEOPLE.—A few days ago a fine little tender of a boy arrived at my home. We named him Adrian. Considering that the children of the proletarians ought to be Socialists, and sound ones, I was anxious to ascertain a fact or two. Just as such a fact had been ascertained, I asked him: "Are you a Socialist?" He said: "Yes." I then asked him: "Do you pay taxes?" He said: "No." You may imagine how relieved I felt at this last answer in particular. Considering that he is a consumer, and considering also that the "Volkszeitung" contends that the 53th Congress has passed a bill for a new tax on taxes on every member of a workman's family, I felt greatly relieved to know that little Adrian's birth did not mean \$20 taxes more out of my earnings. In my country would have meant \$120 a year taxes borne by me!

I asked a few "Volkszeitung" readers whether they were paying taxes, they said "Yes." I asked them what kind of taxes and how much and to show me their tax-list. They called me "crazy," and said the Editor of THE PEOPLE ought to be charged with making such a list, and then taken the "Vorwärts" instead. Now circulate my "Vorwärts" among the "Volkszeitung" tax-payers. We now have 7 subscribers for THE PEOPLE here, and more coming. By the way, the Anti-Tax campaign to catch workmen votes with strikes this village, we expect to be in condition to resist it—thanks to THE PEOPLE and "Vorwärts."—GUSTAVE LANGNER.

Milford, Conn., May 12.

A "Socialist" Speech.

To THE PEOPLE.—Last evening, May 10, the recent acquisition of the Social Democratic Party in London, England, was fully, taking numerous notes, I did not hear the word Socialism mentioned once in the course of her remarks, and it was altogether as good as an exhibition of mental acrobatics. I heard that she spoke upon "The Necessity for Socialism." Being somewhat curious to hear what she knew about the subject of Socialism I attended a meeting of the Social Democratic Party, fully taking numerous notes, I did not hear the word Socialism mentioned once in the course of her remarks, and it was altogether as good as an exhibition of mental acrobatics. I heard that she spoke upon "The Necessity for Socialism." 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